

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 118025  
ORIGIN SS-15

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APPROVED BY: S/P:PKREISBERG

S/S:SESTEINER

-----212256Z 126713 /66

O 212228Z MAY 77 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE NIACT IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 118025

EXDIS FOR TONY LAKE, VP'S PARTY

FOLLOWING REPEAT LONDON 08087 ACTION SECSTATE INFO  
LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM MAPUTO GABORONE CAPE TOWN DTD 16 MAY

QTE

S E C R E T LONDON 08087

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: RH, PFOR, UK

SUBJECT: CONSULTATIVE GROUP MEETING WITH SITHOLE

REF: STATE 110060

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF UK TALKING POINTS PAPER PREPARED FOR  
AMBASSADOR GRAHAM'S CONSULTATIONS WITH SITHOLE. REPORT  
ON THE MEETING BEING SUBMITTED SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 118025

AS A FIRST STEP, I MIGHT RUN OVER ONCE AGAIN THE THINK-  
ING BEHIND THIS FRESH ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE AN INDEPENDENT  
ZIMBABWE, WITH MAJORITY RULE, IN 1978. YOU WILL HAVE  
SEEN DR. OWEN'S STATEMENT IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON  
19 APRIL. HERE IS A COPY FOR YOUR RECORDS. IN BRIEF  
THE THOUGHT IS THAT IF WE COULD PRODUCE A CONSTITUTION  
WHICH WAS MANIFESTLY FAIR, AND WHICH PROVIDED FOR A

DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, ON THE BASIS OF A WIDE FRANCHISE, PREFERABLY UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE, THE DIFFICULTIES OVER AGREEING ON THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD SHOULD BECOME EASIER TO HANDLE. WE SEE THE WHOLE PROCESS AS ONE: IT IS IMPORTANT THAT, FROM THE HAND-OVER OF POWER BY MR. SMITH, THE PROCESS SHOULD BE AUTOMATIC AND IRREVERSIBLE. THUS THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, AFTER SMITH'S DEPARTURE AND THE RETURN TO LEGALITY, WOULD BE RUN BY A CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION, PERHAPS INCLUDING AN ELECTORAL COMMISSION OR SOME OTHER AGREED BODY TO ORGANIZE THE REGISTRATION OF VOTES, THE DELIMITATION OF CONSTITUENCIES, SUPERVISION OF THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN ITSELF AND THE ACTUAL VOTING AND COUNTING OF VOTES. THERE WOULD HAVE TO BE PROVISION ALSO FOR LEGAL CONTINUITY, AND FOR THE CONTROL OF THE POLICE AND ARMED FORCES - OF ALL PARTIES. AND FOR THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, THE FIGHTING MUST STOP AND SANCTIONS WOULD BE LIFTED.

WE SHALL BE WORKING THROUGHOUT IN THE CLOSEST COOPERATION AND WITH THE FULLEST SUPPORT OF THE US.

THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE OF SUCCESS IN THIS EFFORT. BUT MR. SMITH HAS TOLD US THAT HE ACCEPTS A PROGRAMME ON THESE LINES, AS AN OBJECTIVE, NOT A COMMITMENT. I TAKE THIS TO MEAN THAT IF HE THINKS THE TERMS ARE RIGHT HE WILL GIVE UP OFFICE. WE ARE PROCEEDING ON THAT BASIS, IN THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THE TERMS MUST BE RIGHT IN THE EYES OF RHODESIANS OF ALL RACES, AND INDEED IN THE EYES OF  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 118025

THE WORLD, NOT JUST OF MR. SMITH. HOWEVER WITH US BACKING WE BELIEVE WE HAVE GREAT MEANS OF PRESSURE ON MR. SMITH. IF HE GOES AND THE PROCESS STARTS SAY BY MID-SUMMER NEXT YEAR, THAT WILL GIVE ZIMBABWE FULL INDEPENDENCE IN 1978, MUCH EARLIER THAN COULD BE ACHIEVED IN ANY OTHER WAY. AND IF HE DOES NOT, SANCTIONS AND THE FIGHTING WOULD GO ON.

I HAVE SAID THAT WE ENVISAGE A GOVERNMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THAT WOULD BE DEMOCRATICALLY-ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF A WIDE FRANCHISE. THE US GOVERNMENT AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT BELIEVE THAT THIS FRANCHISE SHOULD COMPRISE UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE; BUT THEY ARE OPEN TO HEAR THE PARTIES' VIEWS ON THIS. SIMILARLY THE TWO GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THAT THERE SHOULD BE PROVISION FOR THE PROTECTION OF BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS. SUCH PROVISIONS, THOUGH PERHAPS IN UNSATISFACTORY FORM, HAVE FORMED PART OF THE PAST CONSTITUTIONS OF RHODESIA E.G. THE 1961 CONSTITUTION. TO BE EFFECTIVE SUCH A

DECLARATION MUST BE JUSTICIABLE I.E. GIVE RISE TO A CAUSE OF ACTION FOR AN AGGRIEVED PARTY. OBVIOUSLY THE PRINCIPLES AND CONTENT WOULD BE FOR DISCUSSION, BUT IN PRINCIPLE THE TWO GOVERNMENTS BELIEVE THE DECLARATION SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS. SUBJECT TO THESE POINTS, WE HAVE A FAIRLY OPEN MIND ON THE CONTENT OF AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND SHOULD LIKE TO HEAR YOUR VIEWS.

IN GENERAL, AT GENEVA THE VIEW WAS EXPRESSED THAT A UNICAMERAL SYSTEM SHOULD BE ADOPTED; AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE HEADED BY AN EXECUTIVE PRESIDENT. (THE ALTERNATIVES ARE TO HAVE TWO CHAMBERS, PERHAPS ELECTED ON DIFFERENT BASES, AND A CONSTITUTIONAL PRESIDENT (OR A MONARCH) LIKE INDIA). IS THIS STILL YOUR VIEW?

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 118025

WHAT ARE YOUR IDEAS ON THE FRANCHISE?

WHAT ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS?

DO YOU CONSIDER THERE SHOULD BE ANY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR MINORITY REPRESENTATION, E.G. BY PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION, OR NOMINATION? WE ARE OPPOSED TO COMPLICATED PROCEDURES SUCH AS TWO ROLLS.

DO YOU HAVE ANY VIEWS ON THE METHOD OF ELECTION, SINGLE MEMBER CONSTITUENCIES, OR SOME FORM OF PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION (E.G. THE SINGLE TRANSFERABLE VOTE SYSTEM AS USED IN IRELAND OR THE LIST SYSTEM AS IN SWITZERLAND)?

TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

DO YOU THINK IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO MANAGE THIS UNDER A POWER SHARING TYPE OF ADMINISTRATION SIMILAR TO, BUT NOT NECESSARILY THE SAME AS, THE TYPE OF ADMINISTRATION WHICH WAS DISCUSSED AT GENEVA?

OR WOULD IT BE BETTER, SINCE THE PERIOD WOULD ONLY BE AS LONG AS SUFFICES FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND HOLDING OF ELECTIONS, WOULD IT BE BETTER TO HAVE A SEPARATE CARE-TAKER ADMINISTRATION, PERHAPS PROVIDED FROM OUTSIDE? THIS WOULD PERHAPS GIVE ALL PARTIES CONFIDENCE IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S LACK OF BIAS, AND ALLOW THE PARTIES THEMSELVES TO CAMPAIGN.

WOULD YOU PREFER BRITISH INVOLVEMENT OR WOULD YOU LIKE

TO SEE E.G. SOME COMMONWEALTH PARTICIPATION?

HOW DO YOU ENVISAGE CONTROLLING THE ARMED FORCES?  
CLEARLY THEY MUST BE BROUGHT UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE  
CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION, BUT WOULD IT BE DESIRABLE TO  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 05 STATE 118025

PLACE THEIR DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT UNDER E.G. A NATIONAL  
SECURITY COMMITTEE PERHAPS WITH COMMONWEALTH PARTICI-  
PATION?

WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TO THE EXISTING RHODESIAN SECURITY  
FORCES, THE ARMY, THE AIR FORCE, THE POLICE? WE ASSUME  
THAT AT LEAST THE HIGHER COMMAND WILL HAVE TO BE RE-  
PLACED AND THE TERRITORIALS AND SPECIAL FORCES (E.G. THE  
SELOUS SCOUTS) DISBANDED? WHAT ABOUT THE GUERRILLAS?  
SOME WILL WISH TO RETURN HOME, OR TO ENTER THE  
POLITICAL ARENA. CAN THE BALANCE BE EMBODIED IN THE  
FORCES OF A SOON-TO-BE INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE UNDER THE  
CARETAKER ADMINISTRATION? THERE MIGHT HAVE TO BE  
TRAINING?

THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION? PRESUMABLY THIS WILL HAVE TO  
CONTINUE IN ITS PRESENT FORM WITH A PHASED PROGRAMME OF  
AFRICANISATION.  
THE JUDICIARY?

VALIDATION OF LAWS, THE COURTS?

INDEMNITY AND AMNESTY?

DEVELOPMENT

IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO GET THE ECONOMY GOING AGAIN,  
SINCE THERE IS A SERIOUS UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM. WE EN-  
VISAGE THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND HELPING HERE. OUR  
OBJECT IS TO ENCOURAGE PEOPLE, INCLUDING THE WHITES, TO  
STAY AND MAKE THEIR CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROSPERITY OF  
ZIMBABWE.

DO YOU HAVE ANY VIEWS ON THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FUND?

AT A LATER STAGE WE SHALL WANT TO GO INTO THIS IN  
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 06 STATE 118025

DETAIL. OUR IDEA IS THAT THE FUND SHOULD BE MANAGED BY

THE WORLD BANK, IN AGREEMENT WITH THE ZIMBABWE GOVERN-  
MENT, END TEXT SPIERS UNQTE VANCE

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